

## School of Diplomacy and International Relations

# International Conflict and Security

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**DIPL 2120: International Conflict and Security**  
**School of Diplomacy and International Relations**  
**Seton Hall University**  
**Fall 2017**

Professor: Dr. William J. Kiamie  
Email: kiamieb@shu.edu  
Office: 103 McQuaid Hall  
Office Hours: W 3:30-5:00 pm (or by appointment)

Time: Wednesday, 5:00-7:30 pm  
Classroom: Stafford Hall Room 07

### **Course Description**

This course serves as a general introduction to the enduring and contemporary questions in international security, a field primarily concerned with the threat and uses of force by state and non-state actors for political ends. Topics to be explored include the origins of major power wars, nuclear proliferation, strategies of violence, asymmetric conflicts, and terrorism.

### **Course Objectives**

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of key concepts, models, theories, and debates involved in the study of contemporary international security. Students should also have developed the skills to analyze complex situations, synthesize information, and communicate effectively in written form.

### **Course Requirements**

- **Attendance and Participation.** All students must attend and actively participate in class. A portion of each class will be reserved for class discussion and students will be graded on their discussion participation.
- **Complete the Readings.** Warning: The reading load for this course is heavy, averaging around 80 pages per week. To succeed in this (or any) course you must engage in active reading. Reading without taking notes is a futile exercise. Take notes as you read, distilling the key arguments made by the authors.
- **Complete All Assignments.** There will be two take-home assignments consisting of two small papers, a mid-term exam and a final examination.

### **Assignments and Evaluation**

Course grades will be based on the following criteria:

- **Class Participation (20%)** Students are expected to attend every class session and participate in class discussions. Participation means you contribute to discussion regularly and intelligently. In order to contribute to class discussions, students must do the readings prior to class. Students should also stay abreast of current events that pertain to the subject matter of the course - such as

the conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere, as well as the North Korean and Iranian nuclear weapons programs - by reading major newspapers like the New York Times, Washington Post (both of which are available for free online) and the Economist.

- **Short Papers (30%)** There will be two short papers each worth 15%. Students are to pick a subject in the news having to do with international security and analyze the problem from the perspective of the relevant weekly readings. Due dates for the papers appear in the course schedule below. They will be physically handed in (paper copies) at the beginning of the class on the date they are due.

Papers should be double-spaced, size 12 font, typed in a legible font (e.g. Times New Roman) and are not to exceed five pages. The purpose of this exercise is to have students relate core theories and concepts from international security to current developments in world politics. Students should employ proper citation format. Students may use either footnotes or author-date parenthetical citations, provided they do so consistently. For guidance on citation formats, please consult the Chicago-Style Quick Citation Guide, available at <http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools/citationguide.html>

- **Exams (50%)** Exams for this class will consist of in-class, closed-book, multiple formats, including matching, multiple choice, short answer, and/or essay questions. The date for the midterm exam is listed in the course section below while the final exam date is December 13. Barring a medical or family emergency, there will be no make-ups. Students who miss either exam will receive a failing grade.

## Readings

Many of the readings for the course are articles or book chapters. Most of these are available online via the Blackboard site that has been established for this course. Others can be accessed via the databases accessible through the Seton Hall University Library.

There is one required textbook for this course which can be purchased (or rented) online or from the book store:

Richard K. Betts, *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boston: Pearson, 2013).

## Policies and Resources

- **Accommodations.** It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester.

For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at [DSS@shu.edu](mailto:DSS@shu.edu).

- **Counseling.** The Office of Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers assistance to students in need of support. CAPS is located in Mooney Hall and can be reached at (973)761-9500.
- **Absences.** Students are expected to attend all class sessions and participate in discussions. If a medical situation or other emergency arises students should inform the professor via email at the earliest possible opportunity as to the reason for their absence. Unexcused absences will bring down your participation grade.
- **Athletes and Members of Other Student Groups.** It is the responsibility of the student to contact me about any extracurricular activities that may impinge on their attendance or participation in the course.
- **Late or Incomplete Assignments.** Failure to turn in a paper on its due date will result in a grade penalty. All late papers (this includes those handed in at the end of class or emailed to me during class) will be penalized by one-third letter grade per day (i.e., an A paper turned in one day late is an A-, two days late a B+, etc.) except in cases of medical or family emergency.
- **Incompletes.** Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an “FI” (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating and Academic Integrity.** Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:

<http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm> or  
<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm> .

- **Technology.** Technology can be beneficial as well as harmful to learning. Students will be allowed to use laptop computers during class sessions for the purposes of note taking only. All other activities (email, internet, Facebook, etc.) are prohibited during class. Students who violate this policy will forfeit their laptop privileges.

- **Grade Appeals.** Grades in this course are not negotiable. If you believe an error has been made in the grading of your assignment, you may make a formal appeal. All appeals should be made in writing and sent to the professor via email.
- **Email.** Before emailing the professor students should consider the following: First, always check the syllabus. Often, the answer has already been provided for you. Second, students should include the name of the course in the subject line of the email, e.g., Subject: DIPL 2120: Question about Reading. Doing so will enable me to locate your email more quickly and hence respond more promptly. Third, students should communicate professionally, avoiding informal salutations (e.g. “ Hey prof!” , casual language, and emoticons. Fourth, please keep your communications brief. Complicated questions or issues are best discussed in person in office hours or by appointment.
- **Disclaimer.** The instructor reserves the right to make changes (e.g., addition of readings) to the syllabus in the course of the semester. Students will be given ample warning of any changes.

## Course Calendar

### Week 1 (August 30) Course Introduction

- C. Elisabeth St. Jean, “ The Changing Nature of International Security: The Need for an Integrated Definition,” *Paterson Review*, Vol. 8, 2007

#### *Discussion Questions*

*What is International Security and how should we study it? How has the term changed over time?*

## Part I: Causes of War

### Week 2 (September 6) Causes of War: Anarchy and the Balance of Power

- Thucydides, “ The Melian Dialogue” in Betts, pp. 69-73. (5 pages)
- Kenneth N. Waltz, “ Origins of War in Neorealist Theory” in Betts, pp. 100-106. (7 pages)
- Robert Gilpin, “ Hegemonic War and International Change” in Betts, pp. 107-119. (13 pages)
- Robert Jervis, “ Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” in Betts, pp. 425-441. (17 pages)
- John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), pp. 29-54. (25 pages)

### *Discussion Questions*

*Is major war more likely when great powers are equal or unequal?*

*Does the sweeping historical pattern that Gilpin discerns provide lessons for the 21<sup>st</sup> century?*

*Under what conditions does the security dilemma operate? What factors mitigate its severity?*

*Is the US a regional global hegemon? Does it matter?*

### **Week 3 (Sept 13). Causes of War: Domestic Politics and Economics**

- V.I. Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,” in Betts, pp. 309-316. (8 pages)
- Joseph Schumpeter, “Imperialism and Capitalism,” in Betts, pp. 317-326. (10 pages)
- Norman Angell, “The Great Illusion,” in Betts, pp. 299-301. (3 pages)
- Immanuel Kant, “Perpetual Peace,” in Betts, pp. 136-142. (7 pages)
- John M. Owen, “How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace,” *International Security* vol. 19, no.

2 (Fall 1994): 87-125. (39 pages)

- Erik Gartzke, “The Capitalist Peace,” *American Journal of Political Science* 51:1 (Jan. 2007): 166-

91. (17 pages)

- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Democratization and War,” in Betts, pp. 380-393. (14 pages)

### *Discussion Questions*

*Do countries’ participation in the international economy push them toward competition and conflict or does trade foster peace?*

*What is Angell’s core thesis? Did world events prove him wrong?*

*Does conquest still pay?*

*Is there such a thing as “democratic peace”?*

*Which of the explanations for the democratic peace do you find more convincing and why?*

*Do Mansfield and Snyder discredit “democratic peace” theory?*

### **Week 4 (Sept 27) Causes of War: Ideas and Norms**

\*\*\* FIRST PAPER DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS \*\*\*

- Robert Jervis, “War and Misperception,” in Betts, pp. 194-210. (17 pages)

- Margaret Mead, “Warfare is Only an Invention - Not a Biological Necessity,” in Betts pp. 244-248. (5 pages)
- John Mueller, “The Obsolescence of Major War,” in Betts, pp. 249-259. (11 pages)

### *Discussion Questions*

*Which is more dangerous: overestimates or underestimates of hostility?  
Is warfare merely an invention?*

## **Part II: Strategies of Violence**

### **Week 5 (October 4) Violence and the Uses of Force**

- Robert Art, ‘To What Ends Military Power?’ *International Security* vol. 4, no. 4 (Spring 1980): pp. 3-35. (33 pages)
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004) pp. 28-51.

### *Discussion Questions*

*What are the four functions of force?  
What are the basic concepts of deterrence theory?  
Can terrorists be deterred? Can terrorists deter states?  
Which is easier: compellence or deterrence?*

### **Week 6 (Oct. 11) “Smart” Weapons**

Kris Osborn, “The War that Proved Stealth, A-10s, GPS, and 'Smart' Bombs Were the Future,” *The National Interest*, May 6, 2017 (<http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-war-proved-stealth-10s-gps-smart-bombs-were-the-future-20545>).

Andrew Parasiliti and William Welser IV, “Should We Fear an AI Arms Race,” *Defense One*, February 8, 2016 (<http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/02/should-we-fear-ai-arms-race/125670/>).

David Osborne, “Smart Bombs Not So Clever in Gulf War,” *Independent*, June 29, 1997 (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/smart-bombs-not-so-clever-in-gulf-war-1258850.html>)

Matt Peterson, “Is Obama's Drone War Moral?” *The Atlantic*, August 18, 2016, (<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/obama-drone-morality/496433/>)

### *Discussion Questions*

*How effective are so-called smart weapons in waging modern war?  
What are the moral and ethical considerations involved in the use of “smart” weaponry?*

## **Week 7 (October 18) \*\*\*IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM\*\*\***

### **Part III: Topics in International Security: Alliances**

#### **Week 8 (October 25). Security Cooperation: Collective Security and Alliances**

- G. F. Hudson, “Collective Security and Military Alliances,” in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., Diplomatic Investigations (Harvard University Press, 1968). (5 pages)
- Stephen M. Walt, “Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power,” *International Security* Vol. 9, No. 4 (Spring 1985): 3-43. (41 pages)
- Randall L. Schweller, “Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing The Revisionist State Back In,” *International Security* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Summer 1994): 72-107. (36 pages)

#### *Discussion Questions*

*What is the difference between collective security and an alliance?*

*When do states balance and when do they bandwagon?*

*Do states balance against power or threats?*

*What role does ideology play in alliance formation?*

#### **Week 9 (Nov. 1). The Great NATO Debate**

- Rajan Menon, The End of Alliances (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 53-99. (46 pages)
- Nicholas Burns and James Jones, “Restoring the Power and Purpose of the NATO Alliance,” *Atlantic Council*, June 2016, pp. 1-14. (14 pages)
- Helene Cooper, “Close Encounters with Jets Show Russia’s Anger at NATO Buildup, U.S. Says,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2016.  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/world/europe/russia-us-jets-anger-nato-buildup.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/world/europe/russia-us-jets-anger-nato-buildup.html?_r=0)
- Mark Landler and David E. Sanger, “NATO Unity, Tested by Russia, Shows Some Cracks,” *New York Times*, July 8, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/09/world/europe/nato-unity-tested-by-russia-shows-some-cracks.html>
- David E. Sanger and Maggie Haberman, “Donald Trump Sets Conditions for Defending NATO Allies Against Attack,” *New York Times*, July 20, 2016.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-issues.html?r=0>



### *Discussion Questions*

*What role should NATO play in the post-September 11th world?*

*Does the US need NATO? What for?*

*Should alliance commitments be conditional or unconditional?*

*Was NATO's expansion in the 1990s a mistake?*

*What shape should NATO's relationship take with Russia in the future?*

## **Part IV: Contemporary Challenges**

### **Week 10 (Nov. 8) Nuclear Weapons and Proliferation**

Scott D. Sagan, "Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* vol. 12, no. 3 (Winter 1996/1997): 54-86. (32 pages)

Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better," in Betts, pp. 451-61. (11 pages)

Scott Sagan, "Why Nuclear Spread is Dangerous," in Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz, The Use of Force (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 370-81. (11 pages)

Jasen J. Castillo, "Nuclear Terrorism: Why Deterrence Still Matters," *Current History* (December 2003) pp. 426-431.

Matthew Bunn and Anthony Wier, "Terrorist Nuclear Weapon Construction: How Difficult?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 607 (September 2006): 133-149. (17 pages)

### *Discussion Questions*

*Why do states build the bomb?*

*Do nuclear weapons increase or decrease the chances of war?*

*When it comes to proliferation, is "more" better? Why/why not?*

*Where does the greatest proliferation danger lie: with states or with terrorists?*

### **Week 11 (Nov. 15) Asymmetric Conflicts**

- Daniel Byman, *Understanding Proto-Insurgencies*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2007), pp. 3-6. (3 pages)

- John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15-33. (18 pages)

- Steven Metz, "New Challenges and Old Concepts: Understanding 21st Century Insurgency," *Parameters* (Winter 2007-08), pp. 20-32. (12 pages)

- Joseph Holliday, "The Assad Regime: From Counter-Insurgency to Civil War," *Middle East Security Report* 8, pp. 7-40. (33 pages)

### *Discussion Questions*

*Are insurgents terrorists? Why/why not?*

*How have insurgencies changed over time?*

*What lessons have we learned from past conflicts that are transferable to 21<sup>st</sup> Century asymmetric warfare?*

### **Week 12 (Nov. 22) NO CLASS**

### **Week 13 (Nov. 29) Terrorism**

Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 1-42.(42 pages)

Martha Crenshaw, ‘ The Strategic Logic of Terrorism,’ in Betts, pp. 481-495. (15 pages)

Max Abrahms, “ Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 2 (2004): 42-78. (36 pages)

Robert A. Pape, “ The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (August 2003) pp. 343-361.

### *Discussion Questions*

*What is terrorism? Is there such a thing as a value-neutral definition of the term? According to Hoffman, how has the meaning of the term fluctuated over time?*

*What does it mean to say that terrorism is “ strategic ” ?*

*Can terrorists be deterred?*

*Does terrorism work?*

### **Week 14 (December 6) Wrap Up and Final Exam Review**

**FINAL EXAM DATE: December 13, 5 p.m.**